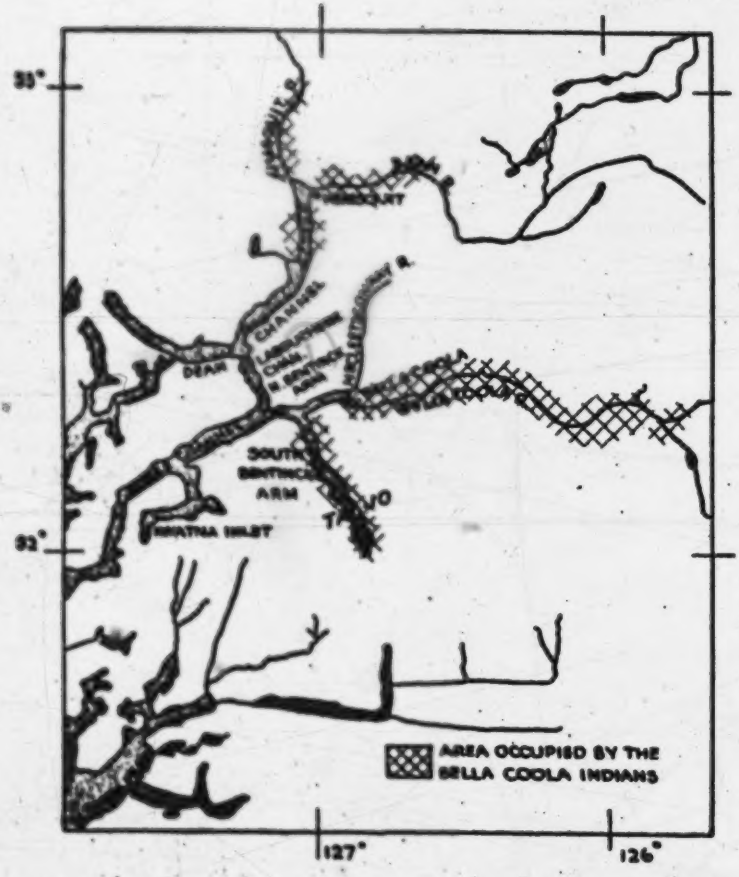
McIlwraith E-1 (1922-1924) 194
N
Bellacoola NE6

102
103
131
133



Map of the Bella Coola area

[facing p. 1]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

CHAPTER I

LOCATION AND ENVIRONMENT

Location—Bella Coola Villages—Tribal Organization—Neighbouring Tribes

LOCATION

"BELLA COOLA" is the common designation of those Indians who, until a few years ago, inhabited the valley of the Bella Coola River in central British Columbia. Boas has recorded[1] that the name is a mis-pronunciation of *Bilxula*,[2] a Kwakiutl word of doubtful origin which white pioneers assumed to be the appellation of the people in question. There is no term in their own language to include the groups treated in this monograph. Linguistically, the Bella Coola form an isolated island of Salish-speaking people, separated from others of the same stock by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage.[3] Culturally, they belong to the central section of the North Pacific coast area.[4]

The Bella Coola River rises among the mountainous uplands of central British Columbia. Its two main branches fall rapidly, about forty-five miles from the sea, into two deep gorges which unite, some five miles farther on, to form the valley of the Bella Coola. Down this the river rushes in serpentine curves (see Plate 5). Too shallow and too rapid for the use of large boats, even if such had been known to the Bella Coola, it serves to bear their dug-out canoes, each hewn from some mighty cedar. The valley is never wider than two or three miles and is hemmed in by lofty snow-capped moun-

[1] *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* (Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, 1898), vol. II, part 2, p. 25. Repeated reference will be made to this work, and when Boas is quoted without further description, the reference will be to this memoir.

[2] Pronounced *Bilxwala* by a Kimsquit man endeavouring to quote a Kwakiutl.

[3] Boas, p. 26.

[4] Clark Wissler, *The American Indian* (2nd ed., New York, 1922), p. 227.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

tains. From each pocket between these mountains an ice-cold affluent comes swirling down to the main river. The predominant tree in the river valleys is the cedar[1] which in many cases attains great girth and height. Cottonwoods flourish in places, and everywhere there is an almost impenetrable undergrowth of devil's club, berry bushes, and other shrubbery of almost tropical density. On the lower slopes of the mountains, moss-festooned pines and spruces are the most common trees, gradually becoming smaller and fewer until the barren peaks are reached. The mountains rise so precipitously that their snowcaps and glaciers seem to overhang the valley, a narrow ribbon of green winding far below. The range of vision from the bank of the river is limited by the all-encircling mountains. Here and there a distant vista opens up to expose peak after peak, but on the whole there is a feeling of confinement, in contrast with the open wastes of the upper country where the Bella Coola rises. Mountains, forests, flowing water, these are the three dominant impressions of the country (see Plate 6).

The mammals of central British Columbia, although comparatively common, have never been of primary importance. The marten, the wolverine, the lynx, and bears, both black and grizzly, were formerly hunted for their skins to serve as cloaks. Deer were killed whenever possible, but formed a negligible item of diet. The beaver also was prized for its flesh. The skins of moose and caribou were traded from the Carrier Indians, but neither of these animals was found in the Bella Coola area. The mammal of greatest economic importance was the mountain goat, the wool of which was woven into blankets. Smoked goat meat was formerly found in every house and was almost the only flesh available during the winter. Small game was abundant, but seals were a luxury. Neither were birds of great importance to the Bella Coola. Members of the tribe resident near the sea-coast used to kill

[1] Appendix C contains a glossary of the scientific names of the flora and fauna mentioned in this monograph.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors.

Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1922 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase.

Bella Coola Villages

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk.

Three rivers empty into the head of South Bentinck Arm, which is about one mile in width (see Plate 7). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nulx̣ɣtskwan·e* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nearest River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Necleetsconnay. Between the mouths of these two is the *Pe·ɔslo*, a small stream rising

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

133 on the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, east of the Necleetsconnay. Before merging their waters with North Bentinck Arm the three flow more slowly and there are extensive tide-flats (see Plate 8). Several villages formerly clustered around their mouths.

361 (1) *Q̓āmeux:* on the west bank of the Necleetsconnay about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. Nothing is known of this long-abandoned village of which even the name is uncertain. The mountain that rises behind its site is called *Q̓āmeux*, and it is supposed that the village had the same designation. Some of the older people state that there was no town, only a temporary hunting station, at this spot.

(2) *T̓əsāllumɣ*, "Short Feet": on the very shore of North Bentinck Arm, west and north of the mouth of the Necleetsconnay. The fiord terminates in a tolerably square end, running north and south, and this town was at the northern edge. It was built on piles and the inhabitants could step to the ground only at low tide. This is the explanation given of the peculiar name, a reference to the curtailed walking space. Long ago it was a large town, but was probably occupied only during the winter. In summer the people are believed to have moved to *Numām·ic*, "The Place of Flies," on the north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

[166]

[712] *(3) *Ălqālāxl*, "The Fenced Town," so called because it was stockaded: near the south bank of the *Pe·əslə*, about a quarter of a mile from the sea, near the site of the present mission church. It was inhabited until about 1870. According to one informant this village was founded by a certain *T̓āxlexwam*, a descendant of *T̓aiakwala*, who decided to move close to the river.

(4) *T̓loq̓o·tl*, "Small Mound," so called from the knoll on which it was situated: above *Ălqālāxl*, and about one-half mile to the north of the present Bella Coola River. Its site is crossed by the road connecting the Indian village of Bella Coola with the white settlement of the same name.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

361 the north bank of the Bella Coola,[1] near the lower slope of the mountain, and about three miles from the sea. It is probable that there was a town at this spot very long ago, according to the statement of one old man, and the numerous repositories (II, p.8) in the vicinity support this view.

*(11) *Sınxł*, "Sunny," or "Fallen Sun": on the south side of the Bella Coola opposite the preceding. It was deserted about 1907. This was a fairly large town, though never as big as *Q̇omqo·ts*. The name is derived from Sun, *sınx*, and there [173] [178] are two explanations given for it. One informant states that the name came from the many revelations of the Sun to the first people there; another that the first chief, said to have been named *Stältımx*, erected a large totem-pole, decorated with the figure of a sun. This blew down, in consequence of which the people called their town *Sınxł*, "Fallen Sun."

*(12) *Sqomełł:* on the south side of the Bella Coola about three miles from the sea, and a short distance below the end of the present bridge. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(13) *Tcımotł*, "Where the River Is Sufficiently Deep to Cover the Stones, but Shallow Enough for Rapids": the upper [164] [173] continuation of the last-named. It was deserted during the smallpox epidemic. The name of the chief who came there at the beginning of time was given as *Ṫ'swakilak*.

(14) *Sno'oniqwlx*, "On the Point": on a curving promontory on the south bank of the river about four miles from the sea. It was long ago swept away when the river changed its course.

(15) *Nu'exmāq*, "The Place of Foul Water": on the north [133] bank of the Bella Coola a little above the preceding, at a place where there were a number of stagnant pools between the river and the mountains. No one knows how long ago this town was abandoned; but as the names of people living there figure in stories which are said to be of no great antiquity, it

[133] [1] The river frequently changes its course, so that village sites now at a considerable distance from it may once have been on its banks.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

able for axes, which occurs in the valley of a small stream on the slope of the mountain.

*(23) *Nulleax*, "The Place Where There Are No Falls": an affluent from the north enters the main Bella Coola about thirty-one miles from the sea and the town was located on this creek about two hundred yards above its junction with the Bella Coola. The ruins of this moderately large town were still standing about 1870. Mackenzie reached the Bella Coola River at this place. At the time of his arrival the population was larger than usual, because the salmon-weir had withstood some heavy freshets which had destroyed several weirs on the Bella Coola, and driven the inhabitants of other villages to *Nulleax*.

It is said that the affluent at *Nulleax*, the stream *Xaiqts*, is the only one in the whole Bella Coola valley that does not drop precipitously into a ravine leading to the main river. Its source is a spring at the end of a pocket-like valley, at the base of steep cliffs, but it does not fall down these. The town is named from this circumstance. The area around the spring is called *Nusnäxinxkt*, and it is said that some families living on the Skeena sing of it as the spot where their first ancestors came to earth, although their descendants do not know where it is located.

*(24) *Stuxʷ*: on the point between the *La'xilx* (Atnarko) and *Sla·kl* (Whitewater) rivers which join to form the Bella Coola. This, the most populous of the upper river towns, was deserted not long ago. The meaning of the name is unknown.

(25) *Qwlisutl*, "The Place of Herbage": on the north side of the Atnarko River, a few hundred yards above the forks. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name was given on account of the hill behind the village being covered with a rank growth of plants and small bushes, but no trees.

(26) *Snuth·tl*, "The Place of Falls," so called from the strong rapids of the Atnarko at this point: on the north side of the river about ten miles from the forks. This large town was long ago deserted when a large rock in the midst of the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Indians from both of these areas were interviewed and it was found that, except for minor details in certain beliefs, their customs were identical with those of the Bella Coola proper. Accordingly, in this monograph, the term "Bella Coola" will be taken to include the inhabitants, not only of that valley, but of South Bentinck Arm and the head of Dean Channel. Those living on South Bentinck Arm will be referred to as *Täl·io* people, the Bella Coola term for them; those of Dean Channel as Kimsquit, the name by which they are generally known. It is an anglicized form of the word *Kimgkwut*, meaning "Canyon," by which the Bella Bella designate the people of Dean River.

VILLAGES ON SOUTH BENTINCK ARM

(28) *Sätlia:* on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the point that marks its junction with North Bentinck Arm. Food was obtained from an ocean fish-trap.[13] Long deserted except as a summer camp.

(29) *Qankilst*, "Island": east side of South Bentinck Arm, slightly north of the island opposite the Hot Springs on the west side of the fiord. The town took its name from this island. In summer the numerous inhabitants lived immediately opposite it, at a place where they had an ocean salmon-trap; in winter they moved to a fortified spot at the base of a mountain slightly farther to the north. This village was blotted out by a landslide one spring long ago, and the few survivors were unable to re-establish it.

*(30)[14] *Tsaoltmem:* on the east side of the fiord about four miles above the last-named. A small town, whose inhabitants lived on the catch from their ocean fish-trap; it was recently deserted.

[13] Ocean fish-traps work as follows:—A pen is made by a series of stakes, into which the salmon enter at high tide. It is then closed and, as the falling tide lays bare the mud, the imprisoned fish can be scooped out by hand or in hand-nets.

[14] Mackenzie did not visit either South Bentinck Arm, or Kimsquit, but it will be convenient to continue the use of asterisks to mark those towns which are said to have been inhabited at that time.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

361 (31) *Ḵxdis*, "Ocean Fish-Trap": on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the *Nuit"* River. [226] It is doubtful whether this was a town, or merely a camping place of the people of *Nuit"* when using their salmon-trap.

*(32) *Nuit":* on a raised mound at the south side of the mouth of the *Nuit"* River, which enters the head of South [731] Bentinck Arm from the east. The meaning is unknown. This [164] was a populous town until the inhabitants were decimated by an epidemic of smallpox.

*(33) *Täl·io:* on the west side of the mouth of the river of the same name which flows into South Bentinck Arm from the south. The location of this village was constantly changed, [133] owing to destructive variations in the course of the river. It was formerly a large town, and has been deserted only since 1900. This village had another name, *Ṯqwantłos*, "Facing," so called because its houses faced those of the town of *Nuit"*.

*(34) *Ȧs·ux"*, "At the Head": at the head of South Bentinck Arm there is a bay running south-west, into the upper [487] end of which a small stream empties. The trail leading to the lake at the head of Rivers Inlet follows this valley. *Ȧs·ux"* was located on this creek, at some little distance from the ocean; the name was derived from the geographical location of the town. It has not long been deserted and must have been a populous place to judge from the numerous repositories (II, p. 8).

(35) *Ḳwapx:* on the east side of the mouth of a creek flowing into the bay at the head of South Bentinck Arm, from the south. This town was of moderate size. The meaning of the name is unknown. It is thought to be in the Rivers Inlet language.

VILLAGES AT KIMSQUIT

[133] Two rivers, the Dean from the east, and the Kimsquit from the north, flow into the head of Dean Channel, and the villages of this area can be grouped according to the two rivers.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

THE ɪstämɣ [1]

BB
BC
563
361
[164
101
197]

Before the smallpox epidemic, about 1865, there were towns on the fiords and villages of Dean Channel between Kimsquit and Bella Bella. The inhabitants were called *ɪstämɣ* by the Bella Coola, and *ɪstaitɣ* by the Bella Bella. Their settlements were at Elcho Harbour, Green River, Cascade Inlet, and at several unidentified places. Their language is said to have differed slightly from that of the Bella Bella, but the people themselves married freely with both Kimsquit and Bella Bella, thus forming a connecting link between these tribes.

A list of *ɪstämɣ* towns was obtained from one old man, who claimed to be a descendant of the people. It was impossible to verify this information, and since he himself was not an ideal informant, the following can be regarded only as approximately correct.

(1) *Älko:* at Elcho Harbour.

(2) *Kɪlde·t:* on a fiord one mile above the last-named.

(3) *Älhhk* or *Yuqwa·t:* on a river three miles above the preceding.

(4) *Nuwaisä·x:* on a river two miles above the preceding.

(5) *Nusqatl:* on a fiord three miles above the preceding.

(6) *'Omhiom:* on a fiord three miles above the preceding.

(7) *Ṣuxwlk:* on a river two miles above the last-named and thirty miles below Kimsquit.

According to the old man from whom the above list was obtained, *Nuxwlst*, at Kimsquit, recorded earlier as village no. 45, was also populated by *ɪstämɣ* people. There was so much intermarriage between the two groups that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the inhabitants not only of *Nuxwlst*, but of *Suxwlk* as well, were predominantly Kimsquit or *ɪstämɣ*.

BC
484
133
[648]

The open plateau in which the Bella Coola River rises has always made travel possible for long distances, so that not only

[1 A "Bellacoola term for the people of mixed Bellabella - Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of 'Dean Channel' - see 2: McIlwraith, cat. 116, p584 - Analyst]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the neighbouring Carriers, but Chilkotin as well sometimes descended to the valley. On the coast, though the dense underbrush prevented travel along the shore, the long fiords, sheltered from the open Pacific, were ideal for the use of canoes.[16] Comparatively lengthy journeys were neither difficult nor uncommon. The *Tăl·io* people were usually on amicable terms with the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and the Kimsquit with the Kitlobe. The Bella Coola were accustomed to attend potlatches at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert,[17] Knight's Inlet, and Bute Inlet, receiving their hosts, in turn, at Bella Coola. On the other hand, there was little friendly intercourse with the northern tribes, of which the Kitkatla especially were dreaded by the residents of the central coast. Until recent years the Bella Coola had no direct knowledge of other Salish-speaking peoples, although some of the Chilkotin told them of a tribe living far to the south, in the interior, whom they encountered in some of their wanderings and used to term *Nuxălkmx*, recognizing the similarity between their language and that of the Bella Coola. A few years ago several Bella Coola attended a boarding-school and were amazed to find that many of their words were understood by fellow-students from Chilliwack.

To sum up: The Bella Coola were in close contact with the neighbouring coastal tribes, with the members of which they felt themselves to have cultural affinities. They recognize that they have received many ceremonial rites from their neighbours, and must have adopted other elements of culture which they now consider indigenous. It is probable that certain Bella Coola customs must likewise have been transmitted to other tribes, but such lie without the scope of this monograph. The outlying villages were in close contact with foreign neighbours, and tended to assimilate elements of their culture, but, on the whole, the Bella Coola present a tribal unity with distinctive local customs, falling within the general pattern of coastal culture.

[16] For types of canoes, see Appendix A.
[17] The principal Kwakiutl villages.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

●133

PLATE 1

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Mouth of the Bella Coola valley looking west

[# 26 (A)]

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

133
137

PLATE 5

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

On the Bella Coola about ten miles from the sea

[#26(E)]

133
137

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

PLATE 6

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Looking across the Bella Coola and up a side valley about three miles from the sea

[426(F)]

PLATE 7

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Looking down North Bentinck Arm. The river on the right is the Necleetsconnay, the Bella Coola enters at the extreme left.

[illegible]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)]1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

1333
137

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 8

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

The tide-flats at the head of North Bentinck Arm

[p 26 (H)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the begin-
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
[785] With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[177] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-
father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

[824] If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
[825] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
[261] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*Wai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

[502] Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
[133] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatche Nose,
[756]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain.

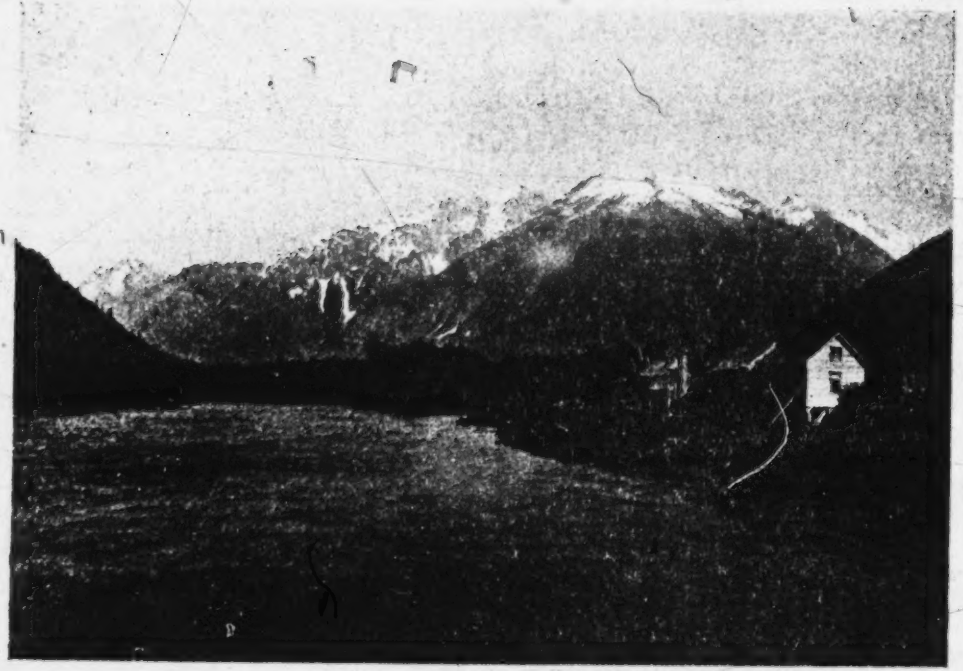
The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is *Ťłitcäplilän·a*, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, *Ťłitcäplilän·a* appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *Ťłitcäplilän·a* for the one in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into flames are received and appreciated by *Ťłitcäplilän·a*.

Mınakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers, but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Ălquntăm*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity.

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw

133
342
361

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6



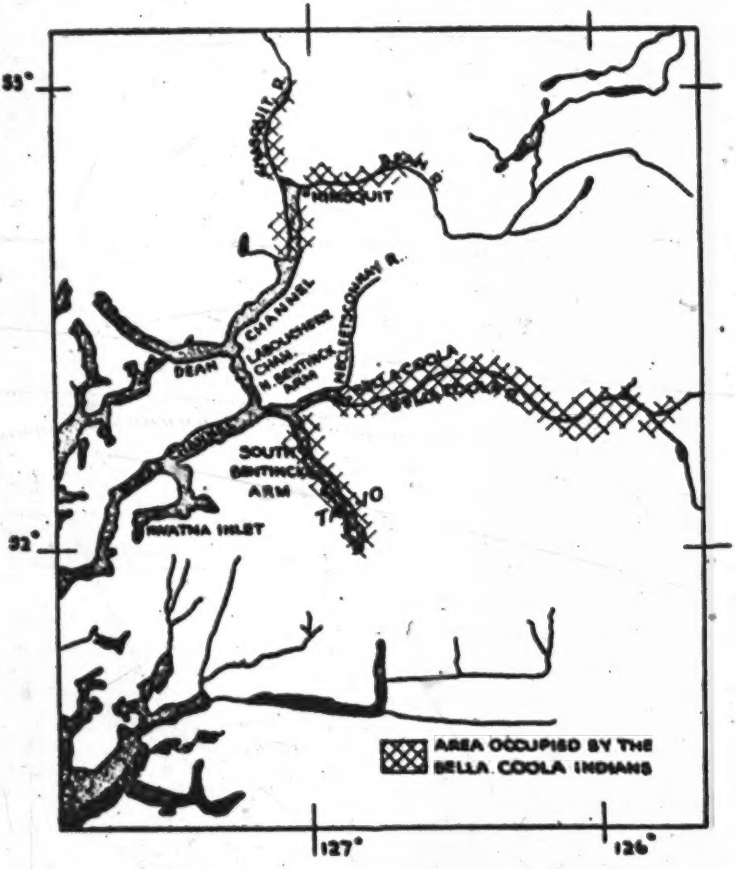
[P 186 (A)]

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

The site of *Q̓omqo·ts*, with the remains of the old village

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

101
102
131
133



Map of the Bella Coola area

[P. X]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject.

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuux* and *Ałqäläxł* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe.

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Täl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

133
137
501

PLATE 21

Photograph by the author

River canoe

[p 532 (A)]